

VOTES FOR WOMEN

VOL. V. (New Series), No. 214.

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NOT TO BE ECLIPSED!



"The W.S.P.U. is not to be eclipsed either on April 17 or on any other date."—VOTES FOR WOMEN.

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To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

OUTLOOK.

The short Easter holiday is over, and the campaign begins again. Great events lie in the immediate future. The trial of the militant leaders will be a matter of historic importance and a great landmark in the struggle for political Reform. One by one the brave women who have been so heavily punished for their recent protest against injustice will be set free, and after receiving the admiring plaudits of their comrades will resume their place in the army of workers for the Vote. Vigorous and unrelenting effort will be made to compel the passage of a Government measure giving women the right to vote for the Imperial Parliament, and now that the Home Rule struggle has begun in real earnest there will be an uncompromising demand that women shall also vote for the Irish Parliament. Unless this demand is conceded, there will naturally be opposition to the passage of a malformed, one-

sided measure of Home Rule giving political rights to men only.

The Leaders.

In our last issue we were able to announce the release on bail of Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, the acquittal of Mrs. Tuke, and the anticipated release of Mrs. Pankhurst, which took place on Thursday, after the formal committal for trial at Bow Street. The Reception (of which we give particulars elsewhere) to be held in honour of the leaders on April 20, coming, as it does, almost on the eve of their trial, will have an historic interest for all who are proud to be associated with the militant movement for women's freedom. The remaining defendant in the conspiracy charge still roams at large—now taking her meals in a cabin on the Mauretania; now plotting with her sister in New York; now stepping hastily from a taxi in the neighbourhood of Clement's Inn—always so "heavily veiled" that we wonder no enterprising detective has sought her in Constantinople or Teheran. They have sought her, we are told, in the house of a fanatical friend in Northumberland, and—was this official humour or official despair?—in the house of a known Anti-Suffragist in the Thames Valley. For our part, we see her still—and so does our cartoonist—as a spirit of fire and air whom neither the phenomena of Nature nor of Scotland Yard can eclipse.

Liberal Class Distinctions.

We have commented before on the inequality of the sentences given to the women concerned in the militant protest last month. A similar respect of persons is being shown by the Home Office over remitting some of those sentences. We congratulate very heartily both Dr. Ethel Smyth and Dr. L. Garrett Anderson on being released before the completion of their sentences, and look forward with great pleasure to hearing them speak next week. But when we remember that the former was given two months with hard labour for stoning a window that was broken already, and the latter, six weeks with hard labour

for breaking one window, the clemency of the Home Office in remitting a portion of such iniquitous sentences loses its glamour. And if it is considered just to release these two women of intellectual distinction and social position, why is not a similar course of action taken with regard to the other women still in prison, who are also undergoing sentences out of all proportion to the amount of damage done? Many of these are working women in one or another class of life.

A Hard Case.

Selecting almost at random, we give one particularly hard case, that of a Scottish working woman, Mrs. Horatio Watson, of Dumbarton. For breaking one pane of glass at the War Office, valued at 3s., she was sentenced to two months with hard labour. Her husband sails for Canada on the 20th of this month; her sentence does not expire until the 29th. Her petition for release, justified by the subsequent release of other women whose sentences were no more unfair than hers, has up to the time of going to press received only the usual curt official refusal; though Mr. McKenna, replying to a question in the House on April 3, implied that he was prepared to consider "any particular case of hardship" among the hard labour prisoners in Holloway. Last Friday, 1,000 windows were broken in a mining riot at the Newton Colliery, Fife, and no arrests were reported. And yet they say the law favours women!

Rule 243a.

More serious still has been the action of the Home Office with regard to Rule 243a of the prison regulations, framed by the late Home Secretary for the more enlightened treatment of convicted persons who are in no sense criminals. Last November the application of this rule, though not generous—the wording of it is ambiguous—at least gave to the Suffragist prisoners something of the status of political offenders. For precisely similar offences, committed with a similar object by similar offenders, some two

hundred women are now in prison, and, with very few exceptions, are being denied this recognition. Their patience for a whole month has shown the courageous restraint for which the members of the Women's Social and Political Union are distinguished. It is impossible to expect women, many of whom have risked their lives in the past to win rights for political offenders, to continue to show this patience in the face of flagrant and uncalled-for injustice. To quote from a leading article in last Saturday's *Manchester Guardian*:-

Mr. McKenna will do well to realise that he is dealing with no ordinary conditions, and that the really courageous and wise course is the moderate and humane one.

Irish Women and the Vote.

Everything in women that hungers to see the members of their sex play a fine and dignified part, finds exquisite satisfaction in the present action of the Irish Women's Franchise League. There is nothing there of the servile spirit that has sometimes prompted women, at the moment when the Constitution of their country was in the melting-pot, to sell the rights of themselves and other women for the sake of men's approval on the plea that they did it for "the nation's sake." A nation exists in and through its women and its men. The argument that national good can come from the denial or the delay (for delay is denial) of women's enfranchisement is based on a hideous fallacy.

The Solidarity of Women.

But the betrayal of women by women is over and done with now. Never again will men be allowed to snatch their own freedom at the expense of and to the exclusion of women. The members of the Irish Women's Franchise League, as will be seen by the report of their activities which appears on another page, have risen in defence of the liberties of their sex. They are women first and foremost. They demand that if Ireland is to have Home Rule it shall be Home Rule for women as well as for men. They have found the Parliamentary supporters of Home Rule hostile to their demand, and they have declared war upon them. They are now about to call on the men who elect these representatives to insist upon women's enfranchisement being made an integral and essential part of the demand for Home Rule. Representatives of the Irish Women's Franchise League will present themselves at the National Convention which is shortly to assemble in Dublin to consider the Home Rule Bill. They will lay their demand that women be enfranchised by the Home Rule Bill before the Convention, and upon the answer they receive will depend the future policy of the League.

Militancy in Ulster.

Inflammatory words are now in full torrent in Ulster, and it is pretty plainly hinted that violent deeds will quickly follow. The Ulster Reform Club, in its address to Mr. Bonar Law, declares that the Irish policy of the Government "will justify loyal Ulster in resorting to the most extreme measures in resisting Home Rule." Mr. Bonar Law, in his reply, says that it will take more than the trickery of the present Government to force upon the people of Ulster a system of government to which they will never consent. He promises that "though the brunt of the battle will be yours, there will not be wanting help from across the Channel." *The Morning Post*, by way of excuse for Unionist policy, says:-

In a supreme crisis, where the interests of the State are at stake, weapons must be used which are not employed in normal and quiet times. The men of Ulster possess the qualities which are needed for a great emergency, and they welcome Mr. Bonar Law because they realise that he shares their firm and unflinching spirit, and that he will be a leader not only in words, but in deeds.

A Grave Public Scandal.

We do not quarrel with this defence put forward by the Unionists that their breaking the law is and will be done in vindication of what they claim to be their rights; that is precisely the defence which is advanced for Suffragist militancy. But what we do insist is that if Suffragists are punished for breaking the law, the Unionist leaders shall also be punished, and that if Unionists are allowed to break the law, Suffragists shall be permitted a like freedom. When will this Government of cowards and snobs take the same legal action to restrain and punish Mr. Bonar Law, Sir Edward Carson, Mr. F. E. Smith, and the rest, that they have taken against certain working men and against the Suffragist leaders? If these Unionist rebels are deemed innocent by the Government, then there ought to be no prosecution of others who have acted in the same way. The gross favouritism displayed towards the Unionist leaders brings the present Government and the administration of the law into utter contempt. Indeed, it constitutes a grave public scandal. If the men of the country are ready to overlook it, women are not, and the Women's Social and Political Union will never rest until the Unionist rebels and the Suffragists are treated by the Government either with equal leniency or with equal severity.

"Constitutional" Incitement.

Some of our constitutional friends must be more careful or they too will find themselves in the dock charged with the use of inflammatory language and with incitement to violence. We have argued that

the refutation of the statement that militancy hinders the Parliamentary progress of Woman Suffrage is to be found in the fact that the far greater militancy of the miners did not hinder but actually procured the passage of the Minimum Wage Bill. The "constitutional" comment upon this is that the Government passed the Minimum Wage Bill "because the miners had it in their power to wreck the whole property, and perhaps the very existence of the nation, and they were willing to use this power. The W.S.P.U. has not that power." Here is, at any rate, an admission that militancy can achieve its purpose. But we have also the criticism that the Suffrage militants are not militant enough to gain the end they have in view. This is hardly "constitutional" teaching!

A Phantom Reform Bill.

In the leading article last week we discussed the futility of depending upon the passage of an unofficial Woman Suffrage amendment to a Reform Bill which may never make its appearance. We urged the general acceptance by all Suffragists of an anti-Government policy, in order that the Government may be compelled to carry a Woman Suffrage Bill just as it is being forced by the Nationalist Party to carry a Home Rule Bill. We learn, however, that some Suffragists intend still to refrain from opposing the Government and to concentrate upon working for an unofficial amendment to the Reform Bill. They have, it seems, convinced themselves that there are grounds for anticipating greater support for a Woman Suffrage amendment to the Reform Bill than was given to the Conciliation Bill. We absolutely fail to see what grounds there are for any such belief. The Nationalists have not yet used their full power against us, and have many votes in reserve which they can and will use with deadly effect if they think there is danger of the amendment being carried.

A Government Measure Only!

Sir Thomas Whittaker, who is one of those who last year voted for the Conciliation Bill and this year voted against, says, in a letter to the *Westminster Gazette* (after the usual inconsequent reference to militancy), that for voting thus he was largely influenced, and he knows others were—by a strong desire to manifest admiration for and give personal support to the Prime Minister at a time when he had rendered splendid service to the nation, especially as it appeared to many that some of his colleagues, taking advantage of his magnanimity on this question, had shown less consideration than was due to him in the position which he occupies as their chief.

So the women's cause is to be offered up as a sort of burnt offering to the honour of Mr. Asquith! This toadying to the Prime Minister, the selfish tactics of the Irish Party, the inconstancy of Liberal M.P.s—these and a score of other things will cause the wreck of any and every measure which has not Government support. But once secure a Government measure and such difficulties exist no more!

Teachers in Conference.

As we go to press, the annual Conference of the National Union of Teachers, which met at Hull last Monday, is occupied in discussing a Suffrage resolution supported by seventy-eight of its branches; and we wish every success to the promoters of it, who have worked so hard to bring this discussion within the scope of the Conference. The National Women Teachers' Federation also met at Hull on Monday, and in a spirited opening address the new President, Miss F. Thomas, pointed out the absurdity of teaching the duties of citizenship to girls as long as women are voteless, and expressed the hope that "no fear of scorn or ridicule would hinder women teachers from using all lawful means of obtaining their political freedom." A resolution was carried expressing "sympathy with unfranchised teachers, who owed their disqualification solely to their sex."

"The Times" and "Votes for Women."

Another resolution, also passed by the Women Teachers' Federation, in favour of equal pay for men and women teachers of equal qualifications and status, is one answer to a leading article that appeared in the *Times* of April 9, which seems to us to evade the economic aspect of Woman Suffrage when it merely says that "Social and economic changes go their own way by laws of their own which neither voters nor politicians can alter." The band of voteless women Government servants at Hull, who think otherwise, have the Chancellor of the Exchequer's own word for it that a dual rate of payment for men and women in Government services will not be tenable when women have won the power to put Governments into office.

The Activities of Women.

The appointment of a woman, Mme. Jenny Porchet, to be director of the head prison in the Canton of Vaud, Switzerland, will convey more to militant than to non-militant Suffragists. Only those who have actually experienced the working of the prison system can fully realise the necessity for women governors in women's prisons. Another appointment of a woman, though of a different kind, that of Mlle. Edmé Chandon, B. ès L., B. ès Sc., to be Assistant Astronomer to the Paris Observatory,

is particularly interesting, as this is the first time a woman has held this post, though there have, of course, been distinguished women astronomers in France as elsewhere, since Caroline Herschel pointed out the way two centuries ago. In medicine, too, women are becoming increasingly active; and a petition has been recently presented to the Minister of Education in St. Petersburg from a number of influential Siberians, asking that women should be admitted to the medical faculty in the University of Tobolsk. An interesting reason alleged is the existence of many Mahometans in the country, whose wives and daughters are not permitted to see men doctors. This call to feminism from the harem is full of delicate irony, and not less so in view of the latest news from Turkey, which we print elsewhere, telling of the persecution of Turkish women Reformers at the hands of a Party that stands for political Reform.

"The Bloom on the Peach."

The "well-known clerical correspondent" who writes to the *Standard* (Woman's Platform) to point out that when a woman enters the arena of Woman Suffrage "the bloom is brushed from the peach, never to be restored," would do well to study two cases that came before the magistrate at Willesden last Saturday. A painter, charged with neglecting his five children, who were delicate and had suffered much from the consequent want of proper food and clothing, was said to have denied his wife house-keeping money for nine months, though he continually went home and ate the food that she, by hard work, managed to provide. When offered employment he refused it, saying, "I don't need to work." In the second case, a labourer, charged with drunkenness, met a further charge of theft with the words—"Fortunately, I have no need to do that. I have a good wife to work for me." If sentimentalists like the anonymous writer quoted above were not past praying for, cases of this kind, by no means rare, should teach them that women, and especially married women, do not universally lead the rich and idle life of a hothouse peach.

MESSAGE FROM CHINESE WOMEN.

The following telegram has been received by the W.S.P.U. from the Chinese Women's Political Union in Nankin:-

"To Women's Political and Social Union, London.—We thank you most heartily for your kind and encouraging message, and wish you every success in your long and hard fight.—Chinese Women's Political Union, Nankin."

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(as Sketch), in rich quality soft Silk, all colours, bordered with black, natural and taupe marabout feather.

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WOMEN AND EVOLUTION.

By H. Baillie-Weaver.

A Speech delivered at the London Pavilion on April 1, 1912.

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Total £117,973 17 3

reminder to herself and to man of that inferiority, depriving her of that legitimate, direct, and open means of expressing her own opinion and influ-encing the legislation which is needed. But we want to-day in the world is that every sub-ject without distinction shall be judged by men and women together, not working against each other, but working together with each other, because men and women are complementary the one to the other, and therefore they must both bring their own share to the common stock. But before woman can do this she must not only be equal in the eyes of the law, she must also realise and feel herself equal, and man must feel and realise it too. In a word, woman has got to go through a period of what for want of a better term I must call revolt. I object to the word, because it seems to give sanction to the idea that this is a sex war, which it is not in the least; but she must, in my judgment, go through a preliminary period of revolt, so that after-wards she and man may be able to co-operate on a basis of absolute equality, which is the only basis upon which the right kind of co-operation can be afforded by either woman or man. Women have often sided with men against women, and men have known it, and men have taunted women for doing it, and have taken advantage of the fact to degrade and mis-use and exploit women in every possible way, and it has been one of the worst results of what I should de-scribe as woman's inferior condition. You know slaves for themselves as a class; they curry favour with the master to try and win private advantages and privi-leges for themselves. But this rebellion or revolt, or whatever you like to call it, is uniting women of all classes.

The Inner Meaning.

Women are beginning to realise that they have interests in common that have been hitherto overlooked to the unspeakable detriment of themselves and men, and that women ought to be encouraged to look to women for help and encouragement merely on the grounds of their common sex. Now, it is just this realisation, in some women instinctive, in some conscious, which has found expression in militancy; and that is the inner meaning, to my mind, of the militant movement. The outward form which the militancy may take under stress of disappointment, under stress of irritation at political insincerity or male prejudice, does not affect my point in the least. One may like or dislike, one may condemn or condone a particular manifestation of militancy; but the true relation which the spirit behind that manifestation bears to the women's movement as a whole cannot be thereby altered. In another direction, too, I would point out to you the notable service that the spirit behind militancy has rendered to the cause. People may dispute whether it has helped or has not helped the woman's movement in the United Kingdom; they may deny that militancy is in any form or under any circumstances is permis-sible; but they cannot, I imagine, deny the extra-ordinary effect which that militancy and the spirit behind it have produced outside the limits of the United Kingdom. It has testified to the existence and the vigour of the woman's movement in the United Kingdom in a way in which nothing else, so far as I can make out, could have done. It has acted like a trumpet call to the women of every country, rousing them from the lethargy of centuries. Could anything be more significant than the extraordinary proceedings which we have noticed in Persia, for instance? The women of Persia, according to the demonstration against the Russian Government; they have smashed the windows of the shops, selling Russian goods, and compelled the men to remove their Russian collars. They have also despatched the following telegram to the Woman's Suffrage Association, London, "The Russian Govern-ment, by an ultimatum, demands us to surrender our independence. The ears of the men of Europe are deaf to our cries, can you women not come to our help?" And think for a moment where that comes from! From one of the most conserva-tive of Mohammedan countries in the world. And do you suppose that the movement here had nothing to do with that which happened in China the other day? I am absolutely certain that the woman's movement is in line with the highest evolu-tion, and consequently that it cannot fail. Progress may be checked owing, for instance, to some man-con-ceived idiocy like the general war with which we are so constantly being threatened, or because woman has not yet freed herself, as I have indicated that she must do, from man's mental domination, or because she is not yet fit to judge her own sex fairly, and there-fore not ready to give man the only kind of co-opera-tion which will be helpful. Sooner or later success is inevitable, for if I may end on this note which to me is the important note, the spiritual note, I am certain that that Power which is neither male nor female, but expresses itself equally in both, is and will continue to be behind this woman's movement, and will in due time bring it to that triumph which is absolutely essential in the highest interests of humanity.

A PUBLIC RECEPTION

of a social and non-political character will be held in London on Saturday evening, April 20, at 8.30, when Mrs. Pankhurst, Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, and Mrs. Tuke will be the honoured guests. For full particulars see p. 441.

Only One Means.

But it is not only as trainer of the child to be a citizen that woman's work is so necessary. Her co-operation in the general working of the com-munity is just as important. And now I should just like to discuss with you for a moment how woman is to become the ideal trainer of the child which we all want her to become. How is she to take the proper interest in the home, in the sense in which I have tried to describe it, and how is she to obtain which the interests of the nation demand? Well, of course, there is only one esoteric means by which she can do that, and that is by receiving the Parliamentary Vote, the absence of which is the most obvious badge of her inferiority, and the constant

HOME RULE FOR WHOM?

Reply to Nationalist M.P.'s.

The Irishwomen's campaign for equal justice with their countrymen may prove as arduous, though we hope it may not, as the similar fight waged on this side of the Irish Channel. Difficulties, however, will not break their courage and spirit. Some difficulties they have encountered already. Thus, women taking part in a poster parade held in connection with the recent Home Rule demonstration in Dublin were savagely attacked by the stewards in control of the demonstration. The general public, however, were friendly and encouraging in their behaviour, and the organisers of the demonstration were solely to blame. All women were excluded from the platforms at the Home Rule demonstration, with the exception of three, two of these being women professors at the University, who refused to be excluded, and the other being a woman member of the Dublin Corporation. No other Irish woman, not even Mrs. Redmond, was admitted to the platform. That Mr. Redmond, when he received a deputation from the Irish Women's Franchise League, refused to permit any account of the proceedings to be given to the Press, can hardly be taken as a sign that he had anything good to say on the subject of votes for Irish women. But, as the League says, the world will be able to judge of the nature of his statement by the nature of the action which it takes in reply. Of one thing the Irish Suffragists may be assured. They will have the whole-hearted sympathy of their sisters in Great Britain and all the help that they can give.

On Tuesday last week at a meeting of the Irish Women's Franchise League in Dublin open war was declared in unmistakable terms. The futility of trusting to Members of Parliament has been realised in Ireland as clearly as in England.

Mrs. Palmer, who presided over a large attendance, said that owing to what she could call nothing else but the dastardly trickery of the Irish Nationalist Party, the Conciliation Bill was rejected, and she wished to express the deepest indignation of the Irish Women's Franchise League at the betrayal of the women by the Irish Nationalist Party. (Applause.) While they were not sorry to see the last of the Bill, that did not lessen the degree of dishonour on the part of the Nationalist Party. (Applause.)

Deputation to Mr. Redmond.

The deputation to Mr. Redmond was shrouded in mystery. The Committee of the League had asked her to read the following statement:—

"In answer to our application for an interview, Mr. Redmond agreed to receive us on condition that no Press representative was to be present. We then asked for permission to bring our own shorthand-writer, but he replied that the only con-

dition on which he could see us was that the interview was to be 'private.'

"The deputation was subsequently received, and at the end of half an hour, during which Mrs. Cousins, Mrs. Sheehy-Skeffington, Miss Deborah Webb, and Miss Tatlow spoke freely to Mr. Redmond about the recent division on the Conciliation Bill, and asked him definitely about the Franchise Clause in the Home Rule Bill, he made a clear and direct statement, whereupon Miss Deborah Webb abruptly left the room.

"Mrs. Sheehy-Skeffington asked permission to submit a brief statement of the deputation to Mr. Redmond for publication. This was, however, peremptorily refused. It was pointed out that at previous private interviews held by our members with Mr. Redmond he had made no objection to this course, and that if we had known he was going to change his former procedure and enforce entire silence on us we would not have waited on him. We further pointed out that we were not a secret society, and that our members and associates were entitled to hear his answer to our demand, as we were merely acting as their representatives. We shall take steps to inform all our members and associates of Mr. Redmond's reply, whilst, at the same time, protesting most strongly against this arbitrary and unheard-of interpretation of a 'private interview' with a public servant.

"The public must, therefore, judge by our future policy as to the nature of Mr. Redmond's reply." (Applause.)

Mrs. Oldham, in dealing with the fate of the Conciliation Bill, said that they should drop their loyalty to their political party, and be ready to give their support to their own party only.

Mrs. Sheehy-Skeffington said an article appeared in one of the English papers on the subject of "Lightening the Ship" by throwing the Conciliation Bill overboard. It was the first time she heard in connection with lightening the ship that the women should be thrown overboard. She commended that to Irish Nationalist women as a whole, and she asked them to consider it when they were making up their minds with regard to the Irish Party. However, she knew that, as far as the Irish Women's Franchise League were concerned, they were done with the Irish Party. (Loud applause.) She did not wish to say much more, because this was a time for action. The time for argument and discussion had passed. She had been connected with the United Irish League through the Young Ireland Branch of that body, but she had sent in her resignation that day. (Applause.) She advised every Irishwoman to follow her example, and as a protest to leave every organisation connected with the Irish Party.

Owing to the action of the Irish representatives, they did not intend to approach them any more. But there still remained the Irish people, who were their masters, and they should ask the Convention to receive a deputation from the Irish Women's Franchise League, and they asked the women of Ireland to come and help them at the Convention. She thought they could promise to break the power of the party, whatever it was, that stood against them now. (Applause.) Irishwomen were not passive resistors, and she knew that when she was struck by a steward or official she was inclined to hit back. Altogether a new phase would have been entered upon if the National Convention denied them recognition. Their future policy would be dictated by the answer given by the Convention as to whether the Home Rule Bill was to be a measure for men or for both men and women. (Applause.)

The Chairman said that the deck was cleared for action by the removal of the Conciliation Bill, and if they did not make things hum it would not be their fault. (Applause.)

SUFFRAGE PROCESSION.

On March 31, the occasion of the Nationalist demonstration, the inhabitants of Dublin, on parading Sackville Street, were surprised to find the words "Votes for women" had sprung suddenly up on all the walls and hoardings in that street. At 12.30 twenty-three members of the Irish Women's Franchise League started from the office in Great Brunswick Street. Twenty were carrying sandwich boards bearing inscriptions relating to the inclusion of women's suffrage in the Home Rule Bill, and three others distributed leaflets and sold VOTES FOR WOMEN, for which there seemed to be an almost insatiable demand. They went up many of the chief streets, and all along the route met, for the most part, with good-nature and civility.

"Imagine our surprise," writes the leader, Miss Maud Lloyd, "when, after proceeding unmolested round the city, we found that in Dawson Street, for some quite unexplained reason, we were taboo. At the Mansion House we were set upon by the official stewards. In any case, it is difficult to defend oneself against attack when one is boxed up in sandwich boards. These, however, did not shackle us long, for they were torn off our backs and rent in pieces. Several giants dressed up in sashes and badges struck members of our little band, others tried to pull off our hats. One lady was stabbed with a hatpin. I should also add that the language used by these official gentlemen was very objectionable, and the behaviour of some such that, in order to defend themselves, one or two of the ladies had to resort to force. When I remonstrated with the most active of our assailants, asking repeatedly why we had not as much right as he to be there, pointing out that we were going to say and do nothing, his only answer was: 'Not to-day; not to-day.'"

SOME PRESS COMMENTS.

Whatever arguments may be advanced for or against woman's suffrage, there is no doubt but that the movement has been badly treated by the Redmondites. A majority of that faction voted for woman's suffrage last year, thus proclaiming to the world that they were in favour of giving votes to women. This year the same majority have voted against the Conciliation Bill, thus proclaiming that they were not in favour of votes for women. We cannot understand such extraordinary conduct. We understand, however, that the defence they put forward is that if the Conciliation Bill had passed its second reading its subsequent stages would have taken up time which it was desirable should be allocated to the discussions on Home Rule. This plea comes well from a faction which thrust aside Home Rule for the Insurance Bill, and have already assisted in passing the second readings of a Scotch Temperance Bill and the Single Schools Area Bill. We are more and more convinced that it never pays in politics to do evil that good may come, because while the evil has been done the good is still in the future, and one's party must be demoralised by sacrificing its principles.—*Cork Free Press*.

The Prime Minister might excusably have allowed himself a rest after the strenuous labours in which he has been engaged during the past month with the object of bringing the coal strike to an

end. Yesterday, however, he . . . expounded to the House of Commons the reasons which led him to resist the Conciliation Bill and every measure seeking to confer the Parliamentary franchise upon women. . . . It cannot be said that the speech is itself indicative of vigour wholly restored. Mr. Asquith, as the most eminent of the anti-suffragists, is naturally expected to present their case in the strongest possible light, and the advocates of the women's cause are likely to say that if the Premier's speech represents the best that can be said against them their triumph, in argument at least, is already complete.—*The Yorkshire Observer*.

Mr. Redmond was certainly well advised to put strong pressure on his followers to vote against the Conciliation Bill. Three only were publicly pledged to Women's Suffrage, and therefore sared their political consciences for the greater good. Not only would the Bill, if it had passed, have absorbed a week of Parliamentary time, as promised by the Prime Minister, but the Opposition would have enjoyed the spectacle while it was debated of a Cabinet publicly at variance. This would hardly have been a wholesome sight for the electors as a prelude to the Home Rule struggle.—*Truth*.

The Irish Women's Franchise League have in the most formal way cut themselves adrift from the Irish Nationalist Party, and for the future it is to be "war to the knife." . . . The next step will be with regard to the National Convention to consider the Home Rule Bill. An attempt will be made to obtain representation at the Convention, and if this is refused, there is talk of "other steps," the nature of which is, for obvious reasons, not disclosed.—*Morning Post*.

A week ago the leader of the Nationalist Party led his followers into the Lobby, against the Conciliation Bill, and, by so doing, wrecked the prospects of that measure. His sole gain by this action was a week of Parliamentary time which would otherwise have interfered with the easy course of the Home Rule Bill. But this is poor compensation for the loss which he has consequently suffered, as last night's meeting of the Irish Women's Franchise League very clearly showed. What does it profit him that he has gained a week of Parliamentary time and alienated the sympathies of every woman suffragist in Ireland? That is the situation which the tone of their speeches represents. The Irish Women's Franchise League, we are told, has done with the Nationalist Party—or, at least, with its leaders. If the Convention refuses to receive a deputation, or gives it an unsatisfactory answer, then it is "war on the Nationalist members." The Franchise League promises to break the power of the party that stands against the movement. There were remarks last night which may, or may not, be capable of interpretation as threats of "militant" tactics.—*Irish Times*.

MISS SYLVIA PANKHURST.

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst has returned from a most successful tour in the U.S. At all the meetings large numbers of people were turned away for lack of room to accommodate them, and in many cases cablegrams expressing sympathy with the women now in prison were despatched to Clement's Inn. The lucidity and eloquence of Miss Pankhurst's addresses impressed all her hearers, and placed the Woman's Movement in England before them in a light very different from that conveyed by the newspaper reports of the "window-smashing raids."

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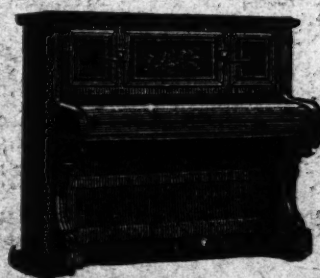
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ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Our Readers, especially members of the W.S.P.U., are again reminded that all communications intended for the W.S.P.U. should, in the absence of Mrs. Tuke, be addressed to Miss Kerr, Secretary (pro tem.), W.S.P.U. Offices, 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.

Prisoners' Secretary.

All enquiries with regard to prisoners should be sent to Miss Olive Smith, W.S.P.U., 4, Clement's Inn, W.C. The Prison Authorities will only give information with regard to dates on which prisoners are due for release to their relatives. We should be glad if relatives would forward this information when received to the Prisoners' Secretary, 4, Clement's Inn.

A Public Reception

of a social and non-political character, in honour of Mrs. Pankhurst, Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, and Mrs. Tuke, will be held at the Connaught Rooms, Great Queen Street, W.C., on Saturday, April 20, at 8.30. The tickets will be 2s. 6d., in order to bring the price of admission within the means of all our members. As this will not by any means cover the expenses in connection with the Reception, a collection will be taken at the doors, to which it is hoped that friends will contribute. Hostesses: Lady Constance Lytton, Lady Sybil Smith, the Hon. Mrs. Haverfield, Mrs. Mansel, Mrs. Mansel-Moulin. The members of the Ladies' Eolian Orchestra have kindly consented to play during the evening. Tickets can be obtained from the Ticket Secretary, Miss Cooke, 4, Clement's Inn.

Albert Hall Meeting.

A meeting will be held in the Royal Albert Hall on Saturday, June 15. The prices of the tickets are as follows: Amphitheatre stalls, 2s. 6d.; arena, 2s. and 1s.; balcony, first four rows, 1s., remainder 6d.; upper orchestra, 6d., all numbered and reserved. Boxes, to hold ten, 30s.; eight, 21s.; five, 12s. 6d. The first four rows of the lower orchestra are being specially reserved, but numbered and reserved seats for the remainder can be had at 1s. each.

Applications for tickets should be made to Miss Cooke, Ticket Secretary, 4, Clement's Inn.

Weekly At Homes.

The Monday afternoon meetings in the London Pavilion will be resumed on Monday, April 15, at 3.15 p.m., when Miss Annie Kenney, Mrs. May Wright Sewall, and Mrs. Mansel will speak. Dr. Ethel Smyth will also speak on her recent prison experiences. The Thursday evening meetings at the Steinway Hall will be resumed on Thursday, April 18, when Dr. L. Garrett Anderson, recently released from Holloway, will speak; also Miss Winifred Mayo.

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Mr. F. W. PETHICK LAWRENCE, Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE, Mrs. PANKHURST, Miss CHRISTABEL PANKHURST, and Mrs. TUKE, price 1s. 6d. to 2s. 6d., can be had from
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A FRENCH VIEW.*

An admirer of the *ancien régime*, M. Octave Uzanne,* holds that "women ought to remain at home, and that men only should earn the daily bread for the family." Recognising, however, that this charming domestic ideal is an impossibility in the modern industrial state, M. Uzanne can only express his horror at the present economic position of women without stating any means whereby it might be remedied or alleviated.

France [he writes] has been incredibly cowardly towards women, and has behaved either with blind selfishness or unspeakable cynicism. . . . The moral and material condition of the Parisian workwoman is monstrous and unworthy of an honest democracy. . . . While the middlemen, dressmakers, tailors, business people of all descriptions grow rich, the unfortunate producers, worn out by work, spent for want of sleep, badly fed, disgracefully lodged, struggle for the bare necessities of life. Without help or support, they only receive by way of encouragement cynical advice to fill their empty purses by remembering that they are women.

M. Uzanne writes in too sensational a strain of the seamier side of Paris life, but unhappily his facts are indisputable; nor is France the only European country in which women workers "are obliged to give themselves to prostitution in order to live." The French author asks a question which is on the lips of many British Suffragists to-day:—

Is it not infinitely painful to consider that in a so-called chivalrous and humanitarian society women meet rather with an attitude towards their sex of brutal, undisguised libertinism than with brave and true defenders willing to plead their cause before the legislature which alone has power to help?

The explanation—why the legislature will not help—is given on another page, where M. Uzanne tells us of the failure of a strike of dressmakers' girls:—

The poor girls were soon obliged to return to their work. . . . No deputy came to their assistance. Were they electors? Certainly not; therefore they counted for nothing. Our democracy, based as it is on the suffrage, could not trouble itself about the fate of women who had not the vote and from whom there was nothing to fear.

Is it not amazing that a writer who so clearly sees the evil of the voteless condition of women, should lightly allude to the emancipation of women as an "unnatural doctrine"? That M. Uzanne is not a Suffragist in no wise detracts from the value of his evidence, but it tends to unsettle our insular belief in a Frenchman's instinctive power of logical reasoning.

FRANK RUTTER.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

"An Old Doctor's View of the Women's Movement." By William Boulting, L.R.C.P. (London: Men's Society for Women's Suffrage. Price 1d.)

"Woman Under the Insurance Act." By W. G. Earegey, B.A., LL.D. (London: Women's Freedom League. Price 2d. net.)

"Parliamentary Reminiscences." By William Jeans. (London: Chapman and Hall. Price 10s. 6d. net.)

I.L.P. Twentieth Annual Conference. I.L.P. Report of the National Administrative Council. (London: I.L.P.)

"Problems of Men, Mind, and Morals." By Ernest Belfort Bax. (London: Grant Richards, Ltd. Price 6s. net.)

"The Marriage Portion." By Mitchell Keays. (London: Grant Richards, Ltd. Price 6s.)

* "The Modern Parisienne." By Octave Uzanne. (Heinemann. Price 6s. net.)

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"We demand the Vote on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men."

VOTES FOR WOMEN

4, CLEMENT'S INN, STRAND.

FRIDAY, APRIL 12, 1912.

HOME RULE.

This week sees the introduction of the Home Rule Bill, that ill-omened measure, which makes its appearance under the cloud of the indignation and contempt of women. Not only do its authors propose to make an unhallowed way for it by preventing the enfranchisement of the women of the whole Kingdom, but the Bill is itself a fraud. It purports to establish national self-government for Ireland, and to confer full political liberty on the Irish people. It does nothing of the kind! It is designed to benefit, not the Irish Nation as a whole, but the male half of the Nation only.

The Irish Party has set itself to wreck the cause of women's enfranchisement, but Mr. Redmond will find that two can play at that game, and that in his attempt to get Home Rule at women's expense he has to reckon with a self-respecting and determined womanhood. This we say in no mere spirit of vindictive retaliation. We say it out of our conviction that unless and until we can prove to Mr. Redmond that wrecking our cause *does not pay*, we shall have him as an enemy. It is of no use to speak him fair. Appeals and persuasion he will regard as a sign of weakness, and will treat with utter contempt. Fighting he understands, and when he finds that women are dangerous enemies, then, and only then, will he treat them as friends. We can speak with authority upon this point. The leaders of the Women's Social and Political Union, who have all along been aware of the danger that threatened from the Nationalist quarter, ascertained at a very early stage that a policy of conciliation would be futile. They decided not to precipitate a crisis or to say anything which should prematurely commit the Nationalists to a hostile course of action from which it might be difficult for them to draw back. They hoped against hope that Mr. Redmond and his party might at the eleventh hour see reason. But now war is declared. The Nationalists have come out into the open as opponents of the enfranchisement of women. They have thrown down their challenge. That challenge has been taken up. It is a fight to a finish between Suffragists and the Nationalist Party!

Divers explanations of the Nationalist action on Woman Suffrage have been advanced. Of course, the usual excuse of militant methods will not serve here. To suggest that Irish M.P.'s are shocked by militancy would be too ludicrous! It has been suggested that the heckling of Mr. Churchill at Belfast is the cause of Nationalist enmity to Woman Suffrage. A reference to the calendar destroys that excuse entirely. For it was last year that the Nationalist

policy of wrecking Woman Suffrage first became known to us, whereas Mr. Churchill's Belfast meeting took place only a few weeks ago.

In the same way we can dispose of the false statement that the Nationalists oppose the enactment of Woman Suffrage because the Women's Social and Political Union opposes Home Rule candidates (that is to say, Government candidates) at the by-elections. The absurdity of that contention is shown by the fact that last year, when Mr. Redmond decided to prevent the passage of a Woman Suffrage Bill, the Women's Social and Political Union was actually at truce with the Government, and the Anti-Government election policy was suspended! In view of this it is impossible, much as some people seem to desire it, to throw the blame for the Nationalist action upon the broad shoulders of the militants.

Fear lest the advancement of Woman Suffrage, by means either of an unofficial measure or of a Government measure, should cause a Cabinet split, is in some quarters alleged as the dominant Nationalist motive; but as a matter of fact this consideration was not prominent when the Nationalist Anti-Suffrage policy was decided upon.

The excuse for their Anti-Suffrage policy officially put forward by the Nationalists is, we understand, that they fear that a Woman Suffrage measure might pass through the House of Commons, might be accepted by the Lords, and might pass into law during the next two years, and before the final passage of the Home Rule Bill. The result of this might be, so the Nationalists argue, that opponents of Home Rule would clamour for a General Election on the plea that the newly enfranchised women electors are entitled to an opportunity of expressing their views on the Home Rule Bill, before it is finally carried into law. Now the Nationalists are bent on getting their Bill carried without another General Election. Accordingly, it is their deliberate intention to prevent any measure of Woman Suffrage getting through the House of Commons until after the Home Rule Bill at the expiration of the next two years finds a place upon the Statute Book. Therefore, let those Suffragists who think that in the coming autumn Mr. Redmond will be more merciful than at present, discard this illusion and get to business. The business of all of us is to convince him that, greatly as he fears the effect upon his cause of the enfranchisement of women, he has much more to fear from their continued disfranchisement.

Of course, it is easy to show to the unprejudiced mind the absurdity of Mr. Redmond's point of view. He fears that the enfranchisement of women may precipitate a General Election! He will be very lucky if nothing else arises in the next two years to bring this Parliament to an end. There are a thousand to one possibilities, any one of which may bring this Parliament about Mr. Redmond's ears. Mr. Redmond's aim ought therefore to be to secure that if a General Election occurs, the Government shall not be defeated owing to their unpopularity on issues other than Home Rule. At present the Government, by their Anti-Suffrage policy, and by their treatment of the women engaged in the movement for the vote, are alienating all the most responsible and enlightened people in the country. On this and other questions the Government are steadily losing ground. A General Election, which Mr. Redmond would regard as premature, becomes more and more likely. He would do well, therefore, to consider which will most injure the Home Rule cause if a General Election occurs—the existence of women voters who at the worst will be divided on Home Rule, and might, if he were wise, be, as to a majority, in its support; or the attack of an army of unenfranchised women, determined to make it impossible for Mr. Asquith and Mr. Redmond in the next ensuing Parliament again to thwart them in their demand for the Vote.

We have much more than a suspicion that the Nationalists' fundamental reason for wrecking Woman Suffrage measures is their determination, if possible, to establish Home Rule without giving Irish women the right to vote. They know that if women could vote for the Imperial Parliament they must also vote for the Irish Parliament, and their desire is to have Home Rule for men only.

In face of the present crisis there is only one thing to be done. Women must show to Mr. Redmond by their action that they have decided that there shall be no Home Rule for Ireland unless there is also to be a vote for women the whole Kingdom over.

"We are the Government," Mr. Redmond and his Party proudly think. Yes, and they share the responsibilities of the Government.

The women of Ireland, with magnificent spirit, are at work already. We and they shall fight together, and from now onwards the Nationalist Party will find us like a lion in their path, contending with might and main for the freedom of our sex.

GAOL BIRDS.

(A sketch—though not a photograph—taken from life.)

By E. Ayrton Zangwill.

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Black Maria clattered into Bow Street Police Station yard. The colour might be farse-like, but the cheerful pace and the neat luggage on top were more suggestive of an hotel omnibus. Some twenty policemen had been standing about, wearily trying to get through the law's inseparable delays. Now a certain animation awoke on their placid countenances. "Here's the last lot," one observed, as he went forward. Even a group of men in the farther corner, who were busily repairing the glass in some large dismantled window-frames, stopped in their noisy toil. They, too, stared at the prison van. "Them's the ladies wot's found us our job," a wag among them chuckled. Their interest was repeated more vividly among the waiting visitors ranged as for a matinee along one side of the railed yard. "Yes, my mother and my sister," a girl was saying with pride.

I, like the rest, was attentively watching as the policeman, with a jingling of keys, commenced the complicated unlocking of the van. That morning I had walked through a devastated West End. Every few yards a shop-front stood blankly boarded. In others the glass was starred, or cleanly pierced by a small round hole. Hundreds of men were working to repair the damage. Glazing had become London's staple industry. Each passing group had been talking excitedly of the dreadful Suffragettes. A letter I had chanced to see from a leading actor-manager complained in sulphurous terms that fear of the wild women was keeping the public from the theatres. I myself had had a small experience of the city's shattered nerves. In a crowded shop my muff-chain happened to chink against a glass counter. A woman next to me shrieked. The proprietor rushed to the door. Assistants scurried like frightened rabbits. I, the innocent cause, alone stood still in dazed astonishment. Now I was to see the genuine furies. The Menads, who had terrorised the capital of the world, were shut up in that prison-van. Small wonder that my eyes were fixed on the opening door.

A little white-haired lady stepped out. She wore rather a smart bonnet and a prim, tightly-drawn veil. I think her mantle and dress were of silk, but the whole costume was so seemly that one hardly noticed it. A small, black silk reticule certainly dangled from her neatly-gloved hand. One felt instinctively that it must contain a cardcase and a fine linen handkerchief, lavender scented; possibly also a tiny gold box with sugar-plums for the grandchildren. As I watched the little old lady a curious thing happened, "Black Maria" changed into a coronetted carriage. The policeman also must have noticed the Cinderella-like transformation, for he was respectfully holding open the door. And now the old lady caught sight of friends in the waiting line. She bowed and smiled with the gentle dignity of cultured generations. A military-looking man left his place and went forward to speak to her. It was surely against the rules; fortunately, the policemen all happened to be looking in another direction. "We can't see heverything," the nearest one commented, with a smile.

Interest in the little old lady had caused me to overlook the next descent from the van. Indeed, even now, I did not connect the sick nurse in uniform, whom I saw standing in the yard, with gaol, save in a professional capacity. It was strangely humane, I thought, to have this capable-looking woman, with her fresh, kindly face, in attendance. "Now, then," the constable addressed her sharply, "prisoners to pass in."

"Isn't she pretty?" An involuntary murmur ran down the row of spectators. There had been a pause, for, after the emergence of each pair of prisoners, a policeman had to dive into the van and unlock further inner doors. But now we saw a slight, young figure in a picture hat standing on the step. The sombre background of the van emphasised the girl's rosy cheeks and the waving tendrils of golden hair. She was looking around with wide-open grey eyes, not as though she expected to see anyone, but vaguely, as in a dream. Perhaps the sunlight dazzled her. Is "Maria" black inside as well as out? As I watched the girl's face, almost childlike in its round innocence, I turned to a stranger indignantly. "She's too young to go to prison," I exclaimed. "She has been there five times already," was the reply.

The prisoner who followed jumped out with brisk, decided movements. This woman was not young; she was not pretty; she was not delicately gowned. But when you saw her face, age, beauty, apparel were alike forgotten; or rather these things seemed so trivial that they ceased to exist. A name of European celebrity was whispered down our line; indeed, the name is better known in foreign countries than at home. England has always had the artists she did not deserve, although she has persistently tried to hush up their presence. It is the old story of the prophet's lack of honour in his own country. If to-day we do not stone our seers, we drive them to feel that they must give their sermons in stones.

The prisoners' waiting-room, into which I penetrated later, surprised me by its spaciousness. It surprised me still more by its occupants. Some thirty or forty women were sitting there reading the papers, writing letters, or talking in gentle, cultivated voices. Save for there being wooden forms instead of chairs,

you would have taken it for a ladies' club. There was, however, a greater cheerfulness and content than is customary at clubs. Indeed, I only heard one criticism—that it seemed unnecessary to have to get up at a quarter to six when there was nothing to do, and the whole day in which to do it. The gaiety was the more astonishing when I learnt that these women had been in solitary confinement at Holloway. Even their one hour of exercise had been cut off on account of a protest which they had made to mark their disapproval of the harsher treatment accorded to their leader. For themselves they had no complaint. "I dance a minuet in my cell every day," one girl told me, "so that gives me exercise. Besides, I am inventing new Highland reel steps. I wanted to teach them to my wardress—she's such a dear—but she hasn't time. They are shamefully overworked just now, poor things, with such a lot of us in."

The conversation was interrupted by a policeman. "Are you a prisoner?" he asked me. It was the third time the question had been put. Coming up the stairs I had resented it. It seemed to imply that my countenance was of a particularly criminal cast. Now I smiled. "I have not that honour," I said. The policeman also smiled. His ready acceptance of my statement made me wonder why such elaborate precautions were used in "Black Maria." Was it not locking the stable door when it was impossible for anyone to get the horse to come out? But the policeman was again addressing me. "If you're a visitor, I'm afraid, Mum, the time is up." My prisoner waved her hand. "Au revoir in the Court," she called to me laughingly. "Yes, I'm certain of two months' hard."

It was my first experience of a police court. I looked round curiously from the side pew in which I sat. The walls were high and grey, the upper part painted, the lower part tiled; there were many double-swing doors, also high, and grained. In front of me to the left was the prisoner's dock with its suggestive iron rail; in front of me to the right rose the magistrate's seat, showing an attempt at state and dignity. The witness-box, with its wooden canopy, looking almost like a toy, stood directly opposite. All three were still empty, but the two benches behind the dock were filling rapidly. They chiefly held witnesses, I imagined, for I saw a couple of commissioners finding support in their uniforms, and a whole row of obvious, thrilled shop-boys. These had the déagé air of people whose pockets are unaffected, and indeed this indifference was shared by some of the broad-cloth-coated proprietors. But others of the latter class were evidently gloomy and harassed. How bitterly they must have been regretting their non-insurance economy. Their case was hard, I felt. Poor victims overwhelmed in a great, world-sweeping movement.

Everyone rose. The magistrate was entering. A white-haired, dignified man took his high seat of office. Outwardly, at least, he upheld the majesty of the law. I felt grateful for his profile. It served to prop my rocking faith.

Proceedings began. A long series of prisoners were brought in, sometimes singly, sometimes two together. A number were convicted; the majority were committed for trial. I have read since of window-breakers expressing regret for their action. I have read of verdicts against them being received with cheers in court. I can only say that the day I was present such things did not happen. There was no sound in the court. There was no woman who tried to evade her responsibility. Rather one felt that these prisoners would have appealed against acquittal. For them gaol should be written goal; it is the land of heart's desire.

Probably such an attitude on the part of a prisoner is puzzling; perhaps it is irritating. Certainly the police magistrate found it so. There was, no doubt, some excuse for annoyance when the girl whom I had seen in the waiting-room sat down and began to interrogate the deferential witness, evidently forgetting that she was not trying the case. What I found harder to understand was the treatment of the little old lady, the aristocrat of the prison-van. She had made this protest, she told us, in her gentle, quavering voice, because she felt it her duty towards the young generation.

"Your duty to smash windows," commented the magistrate. "I shall remand you for the doctor to report on your mental condition."

A faint pink crept into the old lady's cheek. "Thank you," she said quietly. "I am afraid your kind effort to obviate my punishment will prove unavailing."

Curiously enough the next occupant of the dock was the Artist. In her statement she maintained that, despite the evidence, she had not broken the window. "But I was horrified," she assured the magistrate gaily, "to find that my stone had failed." Perhaps it was not surprising that she received the same sentence as her fellows, two months' hard labour, only one wondered a little as to the legal grounds for the committal. There was a general feeling that favouritism had been shown to celebrity; she had got her reward too cheap.

There was a distinct sensation when the pretty girl mounted the dock. Even the proprietors of drapers' shops, surfeited with femininity, still remain human. For the moment the colour had left the girl's cheeks, but that did not make her less beautiful. She looked so solitary, so brave, so immeasurably young as she stood there behind the bar. She had broken four windows, we heard, worth one hundred and eight pounds, so her case would be referred to the Sessions. "Have you anything to state?" the magistrate asked her in his set, wearisome phrase. "You are not

obliged to speak, but anything you do say will be taken down in writing, and may be used against you."

"I have nothing to say." A smile irradiated the girl's face. "Only I am happy. I have struck a blow for liberty."

It was the last case, and so the last word remained—liberty. And as I turned homeward, I mused whether this might be the explanation of all these strange, violent happenings. To these women, does window-breaking indeed spell freedom? In prison are they finding their liberty? For, if this be the case, of what use is repression, of what use is punishment? When to any people death and life become small matters beside the cause they serve, then there are only two ways possible. Either you may wipe out the people; or you may wipe out their discontent. There is no middle course.

MORE OPINIONS.

MR. SIDNEY LOW.

In the course of a delightfully satirical article in the *Standard* (Woman's Platform) of April 3, Mr. Sidney Low says:—

"I no longer ask myself whether woman is fit to vote; I begin to consider whether she is fit to live. Obviously on her merits (if she can be said to have any merits) she is not. . . . Man, not having physiological reverberations, is, as everybody knows, always efficient, reasonable, well-balanced; he never loses his sense of proportion, not even when he comes down to the office with a 'head' due to reverberations not wholly physiological; he may suffer (in fact, he does suffer much more than the female of the species) from gout, rheumatism, and liver complaints, but these maladies never interfere with his competence or his perfect mental equipoise, whether in politics or in business. Woman is not really wanted except for one purpose. Nature, by some strange oversight, made the services of this deplorable sex requisite for the perpetuation of the race. Science will, no doubt, in due course remedy this defect and enable the necessary functions to be performed by other agencies. Why on earth should we be pestered with a million persons, perennial invalids, potential lunatics, possible suffragists? They ought, of course, to be shipped off to 'mate with a complement of men beyond the sea,' always provided the men beyond the sea are open to the arrangement, which they perhaps will not be if they read Sir Almroth Wright. . . ."

There is only one objection that I can see to the adoption of this truly scientific remedy for the evils which have been so lucidly exposed. A certain number of women seem to be still required to discharge various humble and mostly unpleasant duties at a low rate of payment. Somebody must wash clothes, sew on shirt-buttons, scrub, and sweep, and dust. Unmarried female persons, subject to physiological reverberations, may, I am credibly informed, be found on their knees on winter mornings, hearth-stoning the doors of eminent physicians. You cannot abase the dignity of the male by setting him to these tasks, and if you did you would have to pay him too much. I suppose, too, some women must be allowed to act as nurses in hospital wards, and to look after the sponges and dressings when great surgeons perform operations for enviable fees. For these reasons we cannot hope for deliverance from an 'epicene' world all at once. We must move discreetly towards our goal. . . . But we can work steadily if slowly towards the ideal of the zenana and female infanticide (there is a good deal to be said for suttee also), and be thankful to the learned man who has shed the dry light of science upon our feminist embarrassments and indicated the way to escape."

MISS MAY SINCLAIR.

In a letter to the *Times* of April 4, Miss Sinclair writes:—

"We are dealing less with a psychological portent than with a new sociological factor, the solidarity of women; and there is only one other factor that can be compared with it for importance, and that is the solidarity of the working-man. And these two solidarities are one. For, at the bottom of it also—enthusiasm, and sexless, selfless love apart—whether we like to admit it or not, are certain hard sociological and economic facts. There are more women than men in this country, and somehow those women have to be maintained. It is on the whole better for them and better for society that they should maintain themselves than that they should be ignobly or dishonourably dependent. And, even if it were not better, it has got to be. Women are driven into the labour market by the irresistible pressure, not of 'physiological emergencies,' but of economic forces. Competition with men is an accident, owing to the fact that the men happen to be there. . . . And however much man may dislike to have woman working side by side with him, he has no objection whatever to have her working under him, so long as her work is cheap. What he lives in fear of is that at any moment her work may become dear. That is why he tries to undervalue it by his talk of 'physical disabilities'; and that is why he hates above all things the Suffrage movement. It is, after all, as much a commercial as a sexual fear and hatred. . . . Wages are no doubt determined by prices, and prices (reinforced from time to time by the powerful intervention of the trade unions) by supply and demand; still, so far as votes can make and unmake Governments, and Governments desire to remain in office, the bare possibility of a Minimum Wage Bill shows that the vote has not gone for nothing in the present contest. Therefore women are justified in desiring the vote on economic grounds."

THE CONSPIRACY CHARGE.

Leaders Committed for Trial.

The appearance of Mrs. Pankhurst and Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence before Mr. Curtis Bennett at Bow Street on Thursday, April 4, was purely formal. The hearing of the charges of "conspiring to commit wilful damage, and aiding and abetting, counselling and procuring the commission of offences against the Malicious Injuries to Property Act, 1861," was concluded in the previous week, and the magistrate then granted a further remand to allow of time for the drafting of the commitment warrant.

Mr. William Lewis, who represented the Director of Public Prosecutions, said that the commitments had now been prepared, and everything was in order.

The magistrate thereupon committed the

Leaders for trial at the next Sessions of the Central Criminal Court, which begin on April 23.

Mr. Marshall (of Hachett Jones, Bisgood and Marshall) said that he had received an official notification from the Home Secretary directing that the sentence of two months' imprisonment passed upon Mrs. Pankhurst for breaking windows at Mr. Asquith's residence on March 1 should terminate at the conclusion of the present proceedings, and he now applied on her behalf for bail.

The magistrate said that he would allow Mrs. Pankhurst bail in her own recognisances in £1,000 and two sureties in £500 each. Mr. James Murray, ex-M.P. for Aberdeenshire, and Dr. Gavin Brown

Clarke were accepted as sureties. Bail for Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence was allowed as before.

On a suggestion made by Mr. Lewis, Mr. Marshall said he was instructed to give an undertaking on behalf of Mrs. Pankhurst that she would not directly or indirectly take any active part or incite any other person to take any active part in any public disorder of any kind until the trial had taken place.

The magistrate pointed out that if those conditions were not fulfilled the bail would be escheated.

Mrs. Pankhurst: We are honourable people, sir.

All were at once released, and they left the building amid cheers from the friends gathered to greet them.



"Topical."

Mrs. Pankhurst, with Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, leaving Bow Street on Thursday, April 4.

POLITICAL OFFENCES.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—In connection with the sentences of hard labour which are being passed upon suffragists, there appears to be a very widespread misapprehension to the effect that the law does not recognise a "political offence." I should like to correct this. Political offences have been expressly recognised by Parliament. Thus, the Extradition Act of 1870 provides that a fugitive offender shall not be surrendered "if the offence in respect of which his surrender is demanded is one of a political character." Again, the Prison Act of 1877 provides that a person convicted of sedition or seditious libel must be treated as a misdemeanant of the first class (now replaced by a prisoner of the First Division). It has been held recently by the High Court that offences are political if they are "incidental to and form part of political disturbances." In this particular case a foreign government applied to England for the extradition of a fugitive. The English Court was satisfied that the fugitive had shot dead a State Councillor but, on the ground that the offence was a political one, they refused to surrender him, and set him at liberty. In addition to this, it is laid down on high authority that hard labour never need be imposed. The public may therefore be safely left to draw their own inferences as to the reasons for the heavy sentences of hard labour which are now the rule of the day.—Yours, &c.,
A. P. SPANTON.

NORWAY'S WOMAN M.P.

Miss Anna Rogstad, who, at the last General Election in Norway was elected as General Bratlie's substitute, this year takes her seat as a Member of Parliament in her own right.

Miss Rogstad came to Christiania from Trondhjem, and has been a teacher in the public schools of the capital since 1877. She has been a member of the Christiania City Council and has held the presidency of the Christiania Teachers' Association. During fifteen years she has been vice-president of the National Teachers' Association. She is one of the founders of the Norwegian Women's Suffrage Association and a director in Norway's National Council of Women.

Miss Rogstad's previous appearance on the floor of the Storting occurred in March one year ago, when she served in General Bratlie's place while that officer attended to his military duties at the spring manoeuvres of the army. Having risen to the office of Prime Minister, General Bratlie is now relieved of his military duties during his term of office.

WHAT A HUNGER-STRIKE MEANS.

The following extract is taken from the "Notes of a Russian Prisoner in the Schlüsselburg," translated by Mrs. Garnett in the *Manchester Guardian* of March 29:—"There was a general protest in the form of a hunger strike. An order came from Petersburg to remove all books on social questions from the library. Our library was at that time of a most wretched description. The greater number of the books were religious tracts and school books. What kind of books were supposed to be injurious to us may be seen by what were taken from the library: Draper's 'History of the Intellectual Development of Europe,' Lecky's 'History of Rationalism,' Spencer, and so forth. Books in solitary confinement play the part not only of a friend but also of a doctor. Only by means of books can one hope to postpone, sometimes even altogether to escape, madness. Though the example of Shebalin showed that a hunger strike had no chance of success, yet we settled on that form of a general protest as the only one available, and the universal depression of our spirits was in keeping with the plan. Deaths, attempts at suicide, cases of madness continued to occur. The physical and moral health of all the prisoners was completely shattered.

When the protest was decided on we announced the fact to the Governor, and refused to take food. The prison, gloomy enough at all times, was transformed into a veritable tomb. There was absolute stillness. All the prisoners lay motionless, and only the gendarmes flitted noiselessly like shadows about the long corridor, peeping half-jestingly in at the 'eye. The prison officials, too, hardly went out of the prison. The Governor from time to time went in to one prisoner and then to another, trying to induce them to give up the protest. That Governor, Colonel Dobrodyev, soon afterwards went mad himself. The hunger strike lasted eleven days. Some sick prisoners gave it up sooner, others later. The protest ended in failure. It had very painful sequences. One of those who were fasting opened his arteries at the time with a piece of glass; another a little later flung himself from a high window-sill on to the asphalt in the hope of breaking his back, and injured himself very seriously. All without exception suffered even more than before in health and nerves.

This form of protest, customary in Russian prisons, is a most agonising one, especially during the first few days of the fast.

But later on the intense feeling of hunger is somewhat less acute. The whole being seems concentrated in the brain. There is a violent rush of blood to the head, and a perfect hurricane of ideas is incessantly whirling through it."

WOMEN IN TURKEY.

The following is taken from an account by the *Daily Chronicle* Correspondent in Constantinople:—

"The Turkish women so courageously struggling to emancipate themselves from the narrow deadening limits of the old-world harem life find themselves at present in a most desperate plight. All the hopes and aspirations which inspired them, soon after the advent of the Constitution, to direct their energies, mental and physical, to complete enfranchisement from orthodox habits and the usages of tradition, are now baffled and thwarted at every turn.

"The latest signs and manifestations are certainly pointing to a decisive retrogression, and are apt to discourage even the most intrepid of the Turkish women. Fathers incarcerate and frequently brutally ill-treat their daughters for appearing unveiled at the open window of the harem. Husbands divorce their wives who dare to expatiate on the topics of equality of woman with man. Not seldom the Effendi gives a thorough thrashing to his spouse for merely mentioning that the Koran never enjoins that hanoums (women) should be veiled. Brothers denounce to the police authorities their beautiful sisters who venture to enter a European shop without being accompanied by a eunuch.

The Ottoman Government itself has thought it necessary to intervene. Laws of restriction have been issued to safeguard the dignity of the Sheriat. Thus a hanoum entering a European shop without mother or sister must pay the fine of £15 for the first time. A second offence in this direction is punished with severe imprisonment.

"The other day Halideh Hanoum, the well-known authoress, ventured to lecture in an American college before a European audience. This fact raised a fierce outburst of indignation among the orthodox Moslems. The more so as she appeared unveiled. I am told now that Halideh Hanoum will be imprisoned for her unheard-of hardihood. It is evident that the worthy Turk is not yet ripe to understand and bear such liberties on the part of his fair sex, notwithstanding his Constitution and the lofty terms of fraternity and equality which are so constantly on his lips."

MEN'S SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS

— A —

PUBLIC MEETING

WILL BE HELD AT THE

Grand Hall, Criterion Restaurant,
PICCADILLY CIRCUS, W.,

ON

Friday, April 26, at 8 p.m.

SUBJECT:

"How Votes for Women will
affect the White Slave Traffic."

SPEAKERS:

MISS ABADAM,
MR. JOSEPH CLAYTON

(Other Speakers will be Announced Later).

Tickets 2s. each, to any part of the Hall, can be obtained from

Mr. A. W. G. JAMRACH, Hon. Treasurer, of
THE MEN'S SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS,
141, ST. STEPHEN'S HOUSE, WESTMINSTER, S.W.

'Phone: 5326 Victoria.

WHERE WOMEN VOTE.

Views of the Bishop of North Queensland.

In the course of a letter published in the *Times* of April 10 the Bishop of North Queensland writes:—

"Australia is rightly becoming more and more regarded by Englishmen as the testing shop for social and political experiments. We have tried the experiment of the women's franchise for several years. Certainly in the Commonwealth and in Queensland—I believe also in the other States—women have exactly the same electoral privileges as men. From my own observation I can unhesitatingly assert that such electoral privileges have been used quite as well as, if not slightly better than, by the men. To assert more would incur a danger of exaggeration.

"Very many women in Australia have never desired the vote, and some do not use it now they have it. A disregard of the franchise, however, is not peculiar to women. But I feel sure that a comparison of the voting at the last State election in Queensland would show that the exercise of the franchise was divided pretty equally by both sexes. So far as my own observation in North Queensland is concerned, I think that the women electors were generally conscious of the responsibility of voting, and that they acted with very considerable independence of judgment.

"It has been objected to me during the past few days that a woman's vote can be too easily organised and perverted by clever and unscrupulous men. The woman's vote undoubtedly can be organised by men, and this is often overlooked by women themselves. It can be influenced by men, but such men must have the confidence of the women electors. This is now an acknowledged fact in Australia. I have one such man in New South Wales in my eye at this moment. His great influence with women electors is due to the fact that they trust him. But is this necessarily an undesirable thing from the standpoint of the State? And is undue influence unknown in the present British franchise? I believe that a frank answer to both these questions will tell more in favour of the women's franchise than against it. And I emphatically deny that the women's vote is more unduly influenced than is the men's vote, or that its organisation is more open to abuse.

"Writing solely from my own observation, I further believe that the woman's vote is a very valuable asset to the State. It is almost without exception thrown into the scale for the maintenance of law and order. I have no open or secret information of the contents of the ballot box, but I have had some intimate knowledge of women's electoral intentions. The wives of working men are supposed invariably to vote as their husbands tell them. They do nothing of the sort. Usually husband and wife vote alike, which is a desirable thing. But the 'still small voice' that is never still," to quote the late Sir Walter Besant's well-known phrase, not infrequently prevails in political matters. Even when there is failure to convert the husband, the subordination of the wife is by no means certain. The silent blue pencil in the voting booth is capable of nullifying the most stubborn husband's vote.

"An exhibition of husbands and wives voting differently found numerous examples during a recent Referendum upon the admission of religious teaching into the State schools of Queensland. Indeed, I am satisfied that a highly satisfactory settlement of the problem of primary religious teaching in Queensland would have been impossible without the woman's vote, and I know that the woman's vote was given with remarkable independence of judgment.

"Again, I have good reason to believe that the woman's vote in favour of settling industrial disputes without barbaric strike warfare is steadily increasing—principally by indirect methods, because no direct methods are possible. And the fact that respectably-dressed women can be found willing to join in noisy strikers' demonstrations and even to wantonly insult non-unionists does not affect my position that the woman's vote is quite as well used as is the men's, and that it is a force which tends to the maintenance of good government."

MISS C. LANE.

At the London Sessions on April 3, before Mr. R. Wallace, K.C. Miss Catherine Lane, in whose case sentence had been postponed from last Sessions, appeared again in connection with the charge of damaging three windows. She was bound over.

PRISONERS' HAMPER.

Mrs. Littlejohn was able to send the prisoners a great many hampers and some flowers for Easter. Will friends in the future kindly send their money contributions direct to her at 17, Windsor Court, Baywater, W.P. Gratefully acknowledged: Miss K. Armstrong, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Campbell, 2s. 6d.; Miss K. Jerwood, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Harris, 10s.; Mrs. East, 10s.; Mrs. Roy Rothwell, 10s.; Miss Mabel Harris, 2s. 6d.; flowers from Henry Ripley, Esq.

Miss Winifred Mayo and Miss Bertha Brewster are doing yeoman service; they have been meeting the prisoners as they were released from Holloway, entertaining them to breakfast and in a very special way acting as hostesses.

NURSE PITFIELD.

A petition for the immediate release of Nurse Pitfield, who is very seriously ill, is being signed, and forms may be signed at the office of the M.P.U., 13, Buckingham Street, London, W.C.

HYDE PARK DEMONSTRATION.

A Demonstration of protest against the sentences passed upon Suffragists and the denial of political recognition is being organised by a Committee representing the following societies: Church League for Women's Suffrage, Women's Freedom League, Women's Tax Resistance League, Women Writers' Suffrage League, Men's Political Union, Men's League for Women's Suffrage, and others. The Demonstration will be held in Hyde Park on Sunday, April 21, at 3 p.m. Speakers: Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Cobden Sanderson, Mrs. H. W. Nevill, Mrs. Kington Parkes, Miss Nina Boyle, Mrs. Dugdale Duval, Miss J. Dugdale, and others. Particulars from Mr. Victor D. Duval, M.P.U., 13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

WOMEN'S TAX RESISTANCE LEAGUE.

Office—10, Talbot House, St. Mark's Lane, W.C.
Temp. Org.—Miss K. Raleigh, Chestnut Cottage, Wenderover, Bucks.

An open-air meeting in the Market Square, Aylesbury, at 7 on Saturday, April 13. Speakers: Miss Georgina Brackenbury, Mr. Victor Duval, Mrs. Cobden Sanderson and others. Procession with banners at 6, assemble Market Square, at 5.45. Volunteers are asked for, with banners. Sale of Mrs. Hamilton's property (tax resistance) at the Red Lion, Wenderover, Tuesday, April 16, at 6 p.m. Mrs. Cobden Sanderson.

LONDON MEETINGS FOR THE FORTHCOMING WEEK.

April, Friday, 12	Balham, Bijou Hall, High Road	Mrs. Brailsford	8 p.m.
" "	Harrow Road, Prince of Wales	Miss Gargett, Chair: Miss Coombs	8 p.m.
Saturday, 13	Catford, 21, Berlin Road	Members' Rally	3-8 p.m.
" "	Finchley, 33, Downside Crescent	Mrs. Saul Solomon, Mr. Joseph Clayton, Chair: Mrs. Bull	3-4.15 p.m.
" "	Hammer Smith, 95, The Grove	Junior Sale	8 p.m.
" "	Ilford, Balfour Road	Miss Maud Harvey	8 p.m.
" "	Palmer's Green, Alderman's Hill	Miss C. I. Green	7.30 p.m.
" "	Wimbledon Broadway	Miss G. Brackenbury	7.30 p.m.
Sunday, 14	Hamstead Heath, Flingside	Miss Gilliat, Reginald Pott, Esq., Chair: Thornton Jones, Esq.	11.30 a.m.
" "	Hyde Park, W.	Mrs. Bowler, Chair: Mrs. Lamartine Yates	3 p.m.
" "	Wimbledon Common	Dr. Letitia Fairfield, Chair: Mrs. Slade	3 p.m.
Monday, 15	Croydon, 50, High Street	Dr. Ethel Smyth, Mrs. May Wright Sewall, Miss Annie Kenney, Mrs. Mansel	8.15 p.m.
" "	London Pavilion, Piccadilly Circus, W.	Members' Meeting	8 p.m.
Tuesday, 16	Balham, 12, Foxbourn Road	Miss Adele Moore, Miss Rogers	8 p.m.
" "	Edgware Road, Nutford Place, W.	Members and Friends	8 p.m.
" "	Hammer Smith, 95, The Grove	Working Party	2-5 p.m.
" "	Hamstead, 178, Finchley Road	Fire-side Talks	8 p.m.
" "	Palmer's Green, 6, Howard Road	Miss G. Richard	8 p.m.
" "	Stratford Broadway, The Grove	At Home, Mrs. Zangwill, Joseph Clayton, Esq., Miss May Winter, Hostess: Mrs. A. Barfield	1.30 p.m.
" "	Thornton Heath Clock	Miss Madwin	8 p.m.
" "	Whetstone, "Bicknell," Athenaeum Road, N.	Mrs. Drummond, Mrs. Hicks, Annual Members' Meeting	8 p.m.
Wednesday, 17	Barking, Old Town Hall	Miss Bonwick, B.A., Chair: Miss Nichols	8 p.m.
" "	Hamstead, 178, Finchley Road	At Home, Miss Winifred Mayo, Chair: Miss Dalglish	4 p.m.
" "	Islington, Highbury Corner	Miss Nina Boyle, Chair: The Hon. Mrs. Haverfield	2.15 p.m.
" "	Kensington, 173, Colchester Court, S.W.	Reading Party	4.15 to 6 p.m.
Thursday, 18	Paddington, 52, Praed Street	Dr. L. Barrett Anderson, Miss Winifred Mayo	8 p.m.
" "	Radlett, "Gravel,"	Social Gathering	7.30 p.m.
" "	Steinway Hall, Portman Square, Lower Seymour Street	Miss Nancy Lightman	8 p.m.
Friday, 19	Croydon, Small Public Hall	Miss Gilliat	8 p.m.
" "	Fulham, Munster Road	Reception at Mrs. Pankhurst, Mr. and Mrs. Fethel Lawrence, and Mrs. Tuke, Hostesses: Lady Sybil Smith, Mrs. Mansell-Moulton, Mrs. Mansel, Lady Constance Lytton	1.30 p.m.
Saturday, 20	Harrow Road, Prince of Wales, W.C.		
" "	Connasht Rooms, Kingsway, W.C.		

Royal Albert Hall Meeting, Saturday, June 15.

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For Women's Enfranchisement.
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Office Hours: 10 to 6. Sec. 10 to 2 p.m.
Hon. Organising Sec.—Victor D. Duval.

Encouraged by the success of the At Home held on March 23 at the Inns of Court Hotel, the committee has decided to hold another on Tuesday, April 23, at 8 p.m., in the large Essex Hall (Essex Street, Strand). Hostess, Mrs. Dugdale Duval; chair, Mr. Cameron-Swan. Full particulars will be given next week. The speakers in Hyde Park on Sunday, April 14, at 3 p.m. will be Miss Gilliat, Mr. Thornton Jones, and Mr. Reginald Pott. Members and friends are reminded that the Self-Denial Fund will remain open till Saturday, April 20. A strenuous campaign is before us, funds are needed, and contributions, no matter how small, will be most welcome.

Already acknowledged: £1,485 18s. 8d.; Mrs. T. Campbell Burke, £2 2s.; C. T. Price, Esq. (Self-Denial), 2s. 6d.; Membership fees, 2s.; sundry receipts, 6d.; total, £1,489 5s. 8d.

THE CHURCH LEAGUE FOR W.S.
Offices—11, St. Mark's Crescent, Regent's Park, N.W.

Lecture on "Joan of Arc," by Miss Maude Boyden, at Oulton Hall, Westminster, on Wednesday, April 17, 1912, at 8 p.m. Tickets, 1s. each.

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BALHAM AND TOTTING.

Mon. Sec.—Mrs. D. J. Cockledge, 12, Fox-bourne Road, Balham, S.W.

A most successful meeting was held on March 28 at 14, Balham Park Road. Dr. Collier kindly lending his drawing-room. The Hon. Mrs. Haverfield was the speaker, and Mrs. Heard, of Wimbledon, kindly took the chair. The collection amounted to £1 17s. 6d. Members please note the meeting in the Bijou Hall at 8 p.m. to-day, and also members' meeting on the 16th.

BOWES PARK AND DISTRICT.

Organiser—Miss H. Gargett, 4, St. John's Road, Palmer's Green, N.

A social evening is being arranged for April 27 at St. John's Hall, Palmer's Green, as a welcome to our released prisoner, Miss Laura Gargett. Members please note date, and bring at least two friends with you. A very good programme is being arranged. Tickets will be ready shortly. See programme for other meetings.

CHORLEY WOOD.

Mon. Sec.—Mrs. Offer. Hon. Treas.—Mrs. Colin Campbell.

£3 5s. 6d. was presented from Chorley Wood at the Albert Hall. Gratefully acknowledged: H. M. O., 10s.; A. Smeere Friend, 10s.; Mrs. Bell, 2s.; Miss Hawkins, 2s.; Mrs. Moreton, 2s.; Lily Newman, 6d.; "Chums," 2s.; Mrs. Gilliam Smith, 5s.; Bell Esq., 1s.; Mrs. Jarvis, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Colin Campbell, 5s.; Mrs. Varcoe, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Turner, 3s. The drawing-room meeting at "Home Cot" on the 26th was very well attended, and many papers were sold. Hotel meetings will be resumed.

FULHAM AND PUTNEY.

Shop—905, Fulham Road. Mon. Secs.—Miss L. Cullen and Mrs. Roberts.

Many thanks to all who have taken extra turns at shop-minding. Members please support meetings. The annual members' meeting will be held on Friday, April 26, at 7 p.m. Contributions of refreshments will be most acceptable. Nominations of officers and committee should be sent in before April 24.

HACKNEY.

Mon. Sec.—Mrs. F. W. Jones, 39, Pembury Road.

Members please note that there will be no more indoor meetings at the Hackney Baths until further notice. A general meeting of members will be held at No. 24, Lower Clapton Road, N.E., at 6 o'clock on Saturday, April 20. Tea and coffee at 5 o'clock. It is most important that all should attend, as the plans for the summer campaign will be discussed. Suggestions and resolutions, &c., should, if possible, be sent in not later than April 15.

HAMMERSMITH.

Shop—95, The Grove. Hon. Sec. (pro tem.)—Miss Carson.

Thanks to Miss McKay, Miss Hunt, and others, the shop is open as a centre of local activities. Will all members bring their friends, and help in the sale of the paper? Meetings will be held every Tuesday at 8 p.m. (see programme of meetings). Everyone is welcome. All communications to be addressed to the shop. Please send parcels for the jumble sale on April 13 at once. Help also required.

HAMPSTEAD.

Shop and Office—178, Finchley Road. Mon. Secs.—Mrs. Hicks and Miss C. Collier.

Members, when spring cleaning, are reminded that many more things are still needed for the jumble sale. A colour sale will be held early next month, consisting largely of articles made at the weekly working parties. A number of charming dolls very moderately priced are now on sale at the shop. A regular paper seller is needed for the Heath Street Tube on Saturday afternoon or evening.

KENSINGTON.

Shop and Office—143, Church Street, Kensington, W. Tel., 2116 Western. Mon. Sec.—Miss Evelyn Sharp.

Members and friends, especially the unconverted, are invited to the At Home on Wednesday next (see programme). Another successful meeting for ladies in business has been held, and new members made; a third is being arranged. All Kensington members and sympathisers will rejoice at the release of their honorary treasurer, which took place just before Easter. Miss Brackenbury has held several open-air meetings since her release last week; at one of these an anonymous donation of £1 was handed up. Miss Jack and Miss Keenan are welcomed as new paper sellers; Miss Aldred and Miss Raye as new members. The following are warmly thanked: Miss C. Williams, £1 1s.; Lady Home, £1 (shop); Miss Lynch, 4s.

KINGSTON AND DISTRICT.

Mon. Org. Sec.—Mrs. Dacre Fox. Office—13, Union Street, Kingston-on-Thames.

At a meeting held at the offices on April 4, the members of the newly-formed local union elected the following committee: Hon. Organising Secretary, Mrs. Dacre Fox; Hon. Treasurer, Mrs. Beaky, Mrs. Vallance, Mrs. Gilbert Head, Mrs. Oxenford. Gratefully acknowledged: Mrs. Daubeny, 2s. 6d.; Miss Tristram, 1s.; the Misses Browne, 6d. weekly. Mrs. Lynn is thanked for getting poster shown at her newsagent's, Miss E. B. Workers, whose generous offer to supply all comforts and conveniences for the new office is deeply appreciated, and others for generous gifts. Members are urged to assist Mrs. Dacre Fox as much as possible, as she is already an active worker in another district, and the time at her disposal for work in Kingston is limited. Meetings are held every Saturday at the Coronation Stone in the Market Place at 11.30. Mrs. Latham and Miss Stewart are paper tellers on Saturday; who will assist on other days? A jumble sale is being organised. Contributions wanted at office at once.

WIMBLEDON.

Shop—5, Victoria Crescent, Broadway, Tel., 1092, P.O. Wimbledon. Mon. Org. Sec.—Mrs. Lamartine Yates, Dorset Hall, Merton, Surrey.

The recent series of Lecture Hall meetings are bearing visible fruit in the locality, as new members have been made, and many new readers of the paper obtained through them. Members please note that the next series will be held on Thursday evenings (not Wednesday as hitherto). Every effort should be made from now onwards to make these meetings known. All the Wimbledon prisoners are well, and eager for the fray when once more free. Full particulars of "welcomes" will be announced.

WIMBLEDON PARK AND S. WIMBLEDON.

Mon. Sec.—Miss Allan, 75, Woodside, Wimbledon. Tel., 1037 P.O.

The secretary heartily thanks all those who have responded so generously to the special letter sent to members. Contributions towards the special fund continue to come in, and the prospects of the Union are excellent. Many sympathisers have been gained in Southfields, and already several promises of membership have been given. The Union was able to send up £3 to the Albert Hall meeting. Acknowledged with thanks: Mrs. Ferrin, 1s.; Miss Allan, 5s.

Home Counties.**BEXHILL-ON-SEA.**

Organiser—Miss M. S. Allen. Mon. Sec.—Miss Stewart.

W.S.P.U. Shop—"Marina."
Members are to be congratulated on the result of their good work during the past weeks. A large and enthusiastic audience was present on April 2, when Mrs. Mansel formally opened the new shop. A collection of £2 was taken, and the amount realised for tea (which were provided by members) was £1. Volunteers for paper selling came forward, and the organiser hopes for a busy summer campaign. Gratefully acknowledged: Mrs. De Pinto, 10s. 6d.; Miss Bird, 5s.

Tues., April 16.—W.S.P.U. Shop, "Marina," Bexhill. At Home, 3.30 p.m.

BOURNEMOUTH.

Office—221, Old Christchurch Road. Mon. Sec.—Miss B. Berry.

An At Home will be held by kind permission of Mrs. Hume at Freedom Hall, Loughtonhurst, Westcliff Gardens, on Wednesday, April 17, at 4 p.m. Speaker, Miss Isabel Seymour. Members and friends are reminded that the offices are open every Wednesday evening at 8 p.m. Gratefully acknowledged: Mrs. Sykes, 2s. 6d.; Miss H. A. Jones, 1s.; Grif, 1s.; Mrs. A. Fischer, 1s.

CANTERBURY AND SOUTH KENT. Organiser—Miss F. E. M. Macaulay, Trevarra, 30, Bouverie Road West, Folkestone.

VOTES FOR WOMEN may now be obtained in Canterbury at Hart's, St. Peter's Street; in Folkestone at Norman's Library, 22, Bouverie Road West; and at Hogben's, George Lane; in Dover at Messrs. Dawson's and all the principal newsagents. It will also be sold at the following pitches: In Canterbury, corner of Mercury Lane, on Tuesday, 11.30 to 1; Folkestone, Rensdowne Street, on Fridays, 11.30 to 1; in Dover, Market Square, on Saturdays, 11.30 to 12.30. Volunteers are needed to help in this valuable propaganda work.

EASTBOURNE.

Temporary Headquarters—10, Southfields Road. Organiser—Miss M. S. Allen. Mon. Sec.—Miss Sibilla Jones.

A splendid meeting was held in the Marlborough Tea Rooms on March 30, when the Hon. Mrs. Haverfield spoke. New members were made, and a collection of £1 6s. 6d. was taken. Promises of subscriptions towards a shop were also received by the organiser. Mrs. Burton has again most kindly offered her rooms for a meeting, and it is hoped that all members and friends will come on April 17. Wed., April 17.—Eastbourne, Marlborough Tea Rooms, Grove Road. Mrs. Mansel, 4 p.m. British Socialist Party, 85a, Cavendish Place, Mrs. Mansel, 8 p.m.

HASTINGS AND ST. LEONARDS. Shop—S, Trinity Street, Hastings. Organiser—Miss M. S. Allen.

The attendance at the weekly At Home is growing, and a great increase of interest is shown. Many thanks to members who have kept the work going during the organiser's absence. Names of those who can sell **VOTES FOR WOMEN** for an hour or so a week are still wanted. Gratefully acknowledged: Mrs. Chibnall (for sale of hot water can), 4s. 6d.; sale of baby jacket, 4s.

PORTSMOUTH AND SOUTHAMPTON. Mon. Sec.—Miss L. H. Peacock, 4, Felham Road, Portsmouth.

Members are asked to attend the meeting of protest against Miss Marsh's sentence in full force. Contributions for the jumble sale on April 27 can be sent to any member of the committee. Sat., April 13.—Protest Meeting in Pyramid Room, Albert Hall, at 8 o'clock.

READING AND NEWBURY.

Shop and Office—49, Market Place. Mon. Sec. (pro tem.)—Miss O. L. Cobb.

This week the shop will be open on Friday morning for the sale of the paper. Parcels of old clothes, &c., for the jumble sale will be gratefully received. The date of the sale will shortly be announced. Miss Norton will be glad to receive subscriptions from those members who have kindly promised them early in April.

Tues., April 16.—Members weekly At Home and sewing meeting, 3.30 p.m.

REDHILL.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Cather, The Red Cottage, Cavendish Road.

Members are earnestly requested to attend the meeting on Monday evening; to bring in the ticket money, and make final arrangements for the Market Hall meeting. Stewards are wanted for that meeting, also primroses to decorate the platform. Sat., April 13.—Redhill, poster parade, 3-5 p.m. Dorking High Street, poster parade, 3-5 p.m. Open-air meeting, Lieut. Cather, R.N.; chair, Miss Hardy, 8 p.m.

Mon., April 15.—Redhill, Carlton Room. Members' meeting, 8 p.m.
Fri., April 19.—Redhill, Market Hall. The Hon. Mrs. Haverfield, Miss Evelyn Sharp, Miss Eva Moore, Chair, Miss Phyllis Ayrton, 8 p.m.

The Midlands.

BIRMINGHAM AND DISTRICT. Office—97, John Bright Street, Tel., 1443 Midland.

Organiser—Miss Grew.

The protest meeting of April 2 was a great success, and several new members joined. Members please call at the office to-night (Friday) at 6 p.m. for papers to sell outside the Free Speech Meeting at the Town Hall. To-morrow (Saturday) and every Saturday till further notice we are driving to Winslow Green Gail to cheer our comrades. All men and women are invited to join us; be at 97, John Bright Street at 6 sharp, to start at 6.30. Will all those who can help in any way with the work, call or write to Miss Grew at the office? We want all the help possible, as many of our usual workers are in prison. Wed., April 17.—Birmingham, Parish Hall, King's Heath, 3 p.m. Miss Laura Almsworth.
Wed., April 17.—Birmingham, Queen's College, 8 p.m. Miss Laura Almsworth.

LEICESTERSHIRE. Office—14, Bowling Green Street, Leicester. Tel., 1715 Leicester.

Organiser—Miss Dorothy Pethick.
Members will be delighted to hear we are to have a visit from Miss Georgina Brackenbury. Leicester members are specially invited to meet her on Monday, April 22, in No. 1 Room, Temperance Hall. Those who contribute to the shop rent are reminded that March quarter subscriptions are now due. All Self-Denial contributions will be heartily welcomed by the organiser, and it is hoped that every member will do her utmost at such a time as this to make a real self-sacrifice and bring funds for the local cause.

Wed., April 17.—Market Harborough, Co-operative Hall. Miss Georgina Brackenbury, Miss D. Pethick, 8 p.m.

Thurs., April 18.—Loughborough, Corn Exchange. Miss Georgina Brackenbury, Miss D. Pethick, 8 p.m.

NORTHAMPTON. Hon. Sec.—Miss Miller, 305, Wellington Road.

Fri., April 19.—Kettering, Crosskeys Assembly Room. Miss Georgina Brackenbury, 3 p.m. Northampton, St. Giles Street, Whya Melville Hall. Miss Georgina Brackenbury, 8 p.m.

The Child and the Nursery



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NOTTINGHAM.
Office—3, Carlton Street. Tel. 4511.
Organisers—Miss Roberts and Miss Crocker.
Will all who still have Self-Denial money to give please send it to office by April 16, so that the total local contribution may then be announced? The Actress Franchise League performance is postponed till the end of the month. The shop sales are rising, but we want more customers, especially for tea. More street sellers for the paper are very urgently needed. Will those who owe Shop Fund money pay it to Miss Greenall, or send it to office.
Tues., April 16.—Nottingham, Friends' Adult School, Friar Lane. Miss Laura Ainsworth. Chair, Mrs. Simon. 8 p.m.

West of England.

CHELTENHAM.
Mon. Sec. (pro. tem.)—Miss E. L. Andrews, 2 Victoria Walk. Mon. Treas.—Mrs. Hill, Glynrosa, Charlton Kings.
Members are reminded that a meeting will be held on Saturday, April 13, 8 p.m., at 2, Victoria Walk. Many thanks to those who contributed so generously towards the Self-Denial Fund.

HEREFORDSHIRE.

Organiser—Miss Flatman, 25, Castle Street, Hereford.
Great interest is being aroused in Hereford, where some good meetings are being held. The At Home on Thursday, April 18, promises to be a great success. Admission by invitation only. Those who wish to be present and bring friends, please apply to the organiser for cards at once. On Monday the 22nd another At Home is being given by Mrs. Searancke, of Mitcheldean. Will other ladies help in this most valuable way? All offers of help and funds to carry on the work in this new district will be gladly welcomed.

Wales.

Organiser—Miss Rachel Barrett, B.Sc., 93, Minian Road, Cardiff.
Members are asked to bring as many friends as possible to hear Mrs. Brailsford on April 18. Any Cardiff members who can give out handbills in Penarth, or steward at Mrs. Brailsford's meeting there, please communicate with Mrs. Harman, 1, Bechochiff, Penarth.
Thurs., April 18, 4 p.m.—At Home, Art Room, Welsh Industries Building, Mrs. Brailsford.
Thurs., April 18, 8 p.m.—St. Augustine's Institute, Penarth. Mrs. Brailsford. Chair, Miss Barrett.

PONTYPOL AND DISTRICT.

Mon. Sec.—Miss Wilton, Trefloyd, Pontypool.
Members who can help to advertise Mrs. Brailsford's meeting on April 17 are asked to communicate with the hon. sec. It is hoped to make this meeting a very great success. Members will be pleased to hear that Rev. Daniel Hughes has consented to take the chair. A large attendance is expected.
Wed., April 17, 8 p.m.—Town Hall, Pontypool. Mrs. Brailsford, Miss Rachel Barrett, B.Sc. Chair, Rev. Daniel Hughes.

Eastern Counties.

FELIXSTOWE.
Organiser—Miss Grace Roe. Hon. Sec.—Miss Ethel Lowy, Woodcroft, Bath Road.
Tues., April 16.—Oddfellows' Hall, 3 p.m. Miss Isobel Seymour.
Wed., April 17.—Sorrento, Leopold Road. Working Party. 3 p.m.

IPSWICH AND DISTRICT.

Shop—Dial Lane, Ipswich. Organiser—Miss Grace Roe, 19, Silent Street, Ipswich.
Shop Sec.—Miss King.
Plans are being made for an open-air campaign in this district. Full details will be given next week. Many thanks to all who have helped to advertise yesterday's meeting at the Co-operative Hall. Mrs. C. K. Norman is transferring all subscriptions to the W.S.P.U. until women have the vote. Will others follow this splendid example?

NORWICH AND DISTRICT.
Organiser—Miss Margaret West, 8, Essex Street. Office—59, London Street, Norwich.

It is proposed to hold public meetings in Norwich, Yarmouth and Sheringham during the earlier part of May, and it is hoped that members will do their utmost to make these meetings successful. Dates will be announced shortly. Mrs. Mansel is visiting Norwich on April 23 and 24, and Miss Georgina Brackenbury during the first week in May. Members who will offer their drawing-rooms for meetings are asked to communicate with the organiser at once.
Mon., April 15.—Gorleston-on-Sea. Women's Meeting. Miss West. 3 p.m.

North-Eastern Counties.

HALIFAX AND HUDDERSFIELD.
Organiser—Miss Annie Williams, 1, Fitzwilliam Street West, Huddersfield.
Members will be delighted to hear that Mrs. Brailsford has promised to visit Huddersfield and Halifax on the 8th and 9th of May. Will all members try to be present at the next meetings (see below). The profit from the whist drive at Halifax was £2, and of the jumble sale at Huddersfield £3.
Tues., April 16.—Halifax, Mechanics' Institute. Mrs. Brailsford. 8 p.m.
Wed., April 17.—Huddersfield, Parochial Hall. 8.30. Mrs. Brailsford.

HULL.

Organiser—Miss Mary Phillips, 113, Beverley Road, Hull.
With the assistance of the local Union, a good campaign is being carried on amongst the teachers, leaflets being distributed and papers sold at all the meetings.

LEEDS AND DISTRICT.

Office—3, Cookridge Street.
Organiser—Miss Mary Phillips.
Members are setting energetically to work in the organiser's absence at Hull to work up a welcome for Mrs. Dodgson. This will take place in Fowlsy's Rooms on Saturday, May 4, at 3.30. Tickets, price 1s., including light refreshments, can now be had from Mrs. Malcolm at the office. Please apply soon, as accommodation is limited. Mrs. Malcolm is also treasurer for the fund for a present from the members to Mrs. Dodgson, and will be delighted to receive contributions soon.

NEWCASTLE AND DISTRICT.

Office—77, Blackett Street. Tel. No., 4591 Central.
Organiser—Miss Laura Ainsworth.
The following arrangements have been made for demonstrations: Saturday, May 11, in Newcastle; Saturday, May 18, in North Shields; Tuesday, May 21, in South Shields. Speakers will be announced later. There will be a thorough open-air campaign to work each up, and helpers of all kinds are needed. Volunteers are wanted for a poster parade to-morrow afternoon (Saturday); it will leave the office at 2.30. Mrs. Atkinson's addresses on Wednesday evenings are being much appreciated, and all members are looking forward to Miss Mabel Atkinson's address.

SCARBOROUGH.

Shop—33, St. Nicholas Cliff.
Hon. Sec.—Miss A. Dickerman.
An enthusiastic audience listened with interest to Mrs. Drummond's stirring speech in the Mechanics' Institute on Tuesday, April 2. A sum of £27 14s. was raised in promises and subscriptions. Members are asked to note that the new shop will be opened on April 15.

SHEFFIELD AND DISTRICT.

Shop—26, Chapel Walk, Sheffield.
Hon. Sec.—Miss F. E. Coxhill.
Will members who have not yet called for invitations for themselves and friends please do so at

once, as the number is limited? More stewards are wanted. Members are asked to contribute, either money or cakes, towards the refreshments for the 19th and 20th, when "How the Vote was Won" will be acted at Endcliffe Hall, 8 p.m.

YORK.

Office—Colby Chambers, Telephone, 692 Coppergate.
Organiser—Miss V. Key-Jones.
The meeting in the Exhibition Buildings on April 1, at which Mrs. Drummond made a splendid speech, was a great success. The office re-opens on April 15 after the Easter holidays. The organiser urges members to join with her in making the coming strenuous campaign the best York has had.
Wed., April 17.—Speakers' Class, 8; office, 5. Key Jones, Esq.
Thurs., 18th.—Open-air meeting, Exhibition Square, 7.30. Mrs. Key Jones.
Fri., 19th.—Endcliffe Hall, Sheffield. Miss Key Jones.

North-Western Counties.

LIVERPOOL AND DISTRICT.
Office—11, Renshaw Street. Tel., 3761 Roy.
Organiser—Miss Davies.
Miss Cicely Hamilton's play, "How the Vote was Won," will be acted on May 4; tickets, 1s. each; a few reserved seats, 2s.
Tues., April 16.—Welcome to Prisoners. Miss Brook, M.A., Miss Palethorpe, Miss Abraham, Miss Callender. 8 p.m.
Thurs., April 18.—Liverpool, Renshaw Street. Whist Drive, 7.30 p.m.

WALLASEY.

Hon. Secs.—Mrs. Mahood, Burscough Bridge, Lancashire; Miss Lee, 58, Belvidere Road, Wallasey, Cheshire.
The usual fortnightly meeting was held on Monday, April 1. Miss Hoy presided, and referred to the splendid gift of the Wallasey members to the Self-Denial Fund, the magnificent sum of £6 12s. 4d. having been sent up to swell the collection at Albert Hall. Miss Lee, L.L.B., read an interesting paper on "Woman in Literature, Science, and Art."
Mon., April 15.—Miss Hoy, "What Militant Methods Have Done." Chair, Miss Lee.

Scotland.

GLASGOW AND WEST OF SCOTLAND.
Shop and Office—502, Sauchiehall Street. Tel., 615, Charing Cross. Hon. Org. Sec.—Miss F. McPhun. Organiser—Miss Parker.
Glasgow was favoured last week with a visit from Miss Lucy Burns, who spoke at a very successful public meeting in the Charing Cross Hall on Monday afternoon, April 1, and organised a vigorous outdoor campaign for the rest of the week. Meetings were held at Wellington Street, Queen's Park, Botanic Gardens, Maryhill, Parkhead, Shawlands Cross, and Greenock. The speakers besides Miss Burns were Miss E. McLean, Dr. Dorothea Chalmers-Smith, Mrs. White, Miss Thomson, Miss H. McLean, and Miss Hannan. All the meetings were extremely successful, and many papers were sold.

MEETINGS IN IRELAND.

Meetings are being organised in Lisburn, Armagh, and Dublin on April 16, 17, and 18 for the Rev. Hugh Chapman, of the Royal Chapel, Savoy.

THE GRETA COMPANY.

A very varied selection of charming and inexpensive blouses is to be seen at the show-rooms of the Greta Company, 12, Argyll Place, Regent Street, W., all of which are fitted with the "Greta" patent fastener, a simple and practical contrivance, by means of which the necessity for hooks and eyes is done away with, and ladies are enabled to fasten and unfasten their own blouses without assistance.

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42/-

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The Linens have all been woven in Hand Looms, the process to which the best Irish Linens owe their beauty, purity, and durability.

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3,000 HAND LOOM Irish Damask TABLE CLOTHS.
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1,250 pairs Hemmed and Hemstitched LINEN SHEETS.
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800 dozen LINEN PILLOW CASES, Plain, Hemstitched, and 1,500 PRINTED BEDSPREADS. Embroidered.
Irish Hand-embroidered LINEN BEDSPREADS.
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S 311. 2,000 pairs 54 in. by 3 yds., 2/9 per pair; 12 pairs for 30/- 54 " " 3 3/4 " 12 " " 36/- in White or Ivory. Splendid Value.
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S 445. 72 in. by 3 1/2 yds., 6/11 per pair. (Worth 9/6.) A wide Curtain for large windows. Oak Leaf Border.

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Address, the Advertisement Manager, VOTES FOR
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Property found at W.S.P.U. meetings should be
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We are anxious to sell the following articles in
order to add the amount realized to the total of the
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Gold brooch, set turquoise	0 7 6
Long gold chain	2 10 0
Silver watch, nearly new	1 5 0
Gold bangle, set opal and diamond heart	3 3 0
Gold bangle	1 1 0
Gold bangle, set pearls and turquoise	0 15 0
Foreign wood bangle, gold mounts	0 15 6
Carb chain bracelet	0 15 0
Gold necklace, with amethyst and pearl pendant	2 2 0
Ring, set one ruby and two emeralds	0 25 0
Ring, set pearls and sapphires	0 20 6
String of amber beads	1 1 0
Hair ornament, moderate and silver	0 5 0
Gold chain bracelet (basket pattern)	1 1 0
Miniature, hand-painted, copy of Sir Joshua Reynolds "Lady and Child," in National Gallery	3 3 0
Cloisonné Plate	1 1 0
25 piece (Edward VII.) offers asked Silver crucifix (Italian) offers asked Offers for any of the above would be considered. Apply Mrs. Sanders, W.S.P.U., 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.	

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BOURNEMOUTH.—High-class Boarding Estab-
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30s. Close Baker Street Underground and
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Good table. Continental service. Terms, 25s. to 30s.—
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COMFORTABLE bed-sitting-room in nice
house and street. Also bed and breakfast,
from 7s. Bright, comfortable home. Vegetarian if
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Well recommended. Proprietress.

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Cubicles from 18s. 6d. per week with board;
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WHY Keep Useless Jewellery? The
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